2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aiṭ Mjilḏ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ĝarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Âḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Frąj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
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is remarkable; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise. 121 [124]

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplating the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
648 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
● 124 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal
[203] land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them. Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true? I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classification with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classification of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort, tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be parcelled out for plowing amongst the members of the jma'th; and some lands should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 179 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "because this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it continues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[182] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
ingharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the ingharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The ingharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
ingharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

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65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [988] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

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sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even continuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

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616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

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The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

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another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

584 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase
583 sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in
[114] Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion
[124] of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting [662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution [124] is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted